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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 27 August 1993, at 3.55 p.m.

President:	Mrs. ALBRIGHT	(United States of America)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. MOLNAR
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. van BOHEMEN
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ-BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. RICHARDSON
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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The meeting was called to order at 3.55 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE QUESTION CONCERNING HAITI

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (S/26361)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Haiti, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/26361, which contains a report of the Secretary-General concerning Haiti. Members have before them two further reports of the Secretary-General, contained in documents S/26063 and S/26297 respectively; and document S/26085, containing the text of a letter dated 15 July 1993 from the President of the Security Council addressed to the Secretary-General.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/26364, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The Chinese delegation has, all along, followed closely the developments in Haiti. We highly appreciate the unswerving efforts made by the United Nations, the Organization of American States and Mr. Caputo, Special Representative of the the Secretaries-General of both those organizations, to find a political solution to the crisis in Haiti.

(Mr. Li Zhaoxing, China)

We are pleased to note that the implementation of the Governors Island Agreement and the New York Pact has already started and that the Prime Minister of Haiti has assumed office. All of this has not only brought hope to the promotion of the peace process in Haiti, thus enabling the people to enjoy peace and tranquility once again and to revitalize their national economy, but has also made possible the suspension and eventual elimination of sanctions. The Chinese delegation therefore supports the recommendation of the Secretary-General that sanctions on Haiti be suspended immediately. Consequently we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

It is said that a thousand-mile journey starts with the first step. With the concerted efforts of the international community, the legitimate Government of Haiti has been restored. That was indeed a hard-won achievement. At present, various parties in Haiti have achieved some initial results in implementing the two agreements, thus marking a good beginning. We hope that the relevant agreements will continue to be fully implemented so that sanctions on Haiti, which have brought enormous difficulties to the people, will be lifted totally and that Haiti will embark on the road towards genuine and lasting peace and stability.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/26364.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has thus been adopted unanimously as resolution 861 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): The French Government is pleased that the progress of democracy in Haiti has enabled the Security Council to suspend the sanctions imposed on that country by resolution 841 (1993).

The Governors Island Agreement of 3 July 1993 provides for President Aristide's return to Haiti on 30 October 1993. To that end it establishes 10 stages to be implemented over a period of several months. The New York Pact, signed on 16 July 1993 by the parties represented in the Haitian Parliament, was the first step. The appointment of Mr. Malval to the post of Prime Minister has been ratified by the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies just a few days ago. Therefore, as set out in resolution 841 (1993) and as stipulated in the Governors Island Agreement, the Council has decided today to suspend the sanctions.

My delegation views this decision as explicit encouragement for all the Haitian parties to continue their efforts towards democracy. We earnestly hope that this process will be completed and that the Council will then be able finally to lift the sanctions. We would be delighted at that outcome, which would attest to Haiti's return to normal democratic life.

In a more general context, my delegation would be all the more pleased at that result since in that way the Council would be demonstrating to all that it can act in accordance with the developments it observes.

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

Finallly, my delegation feels that Haiti's progress towards democracy is in large part the result of cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of American States. This is an example whose repetition and extension would benefit all.

Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): Spain is pleased that the process of achieving a comprehensive settlement in Haiti in the framework of the Governors Island Agreement and the New York Pact is continuing as planned and on schedule. Mr. Malval's appointment as Prime Minister by the Haitian Chamber of Deputies, in accordance with these agreements, is an important step forward in the process towards the normalization of the situation in Haiti and the full restoration of democracy.

The establishment of the Malval Government is of great importance to Haiti and its people - to whom we convey a message of congratulations and hope. It is also a source of gratification for the United Nations, for it implies that the Security Council's action in adopting the sanctions regime set out in resolution 841 (1993) proved commensurate with the circumstances and laid the foundation for the restoration of the Haitian people's democratic freedoms.

Of course, it was a result also of the brilliant work of the Special Representative of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations and of the Organization of American States (OAS), Mr. Dante Caputo, whom we thank and congratulate.

The establishment of a democratic Government in Haiti was due also to cooperation between the Organization of American States and the United Nations; we too wish to highlight the importance of that cooperation between the OAS and the United Nations. This achievement indicates the important role such cooperation can play on future occasions.

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

With the adoption today of resolution 861 (1993), the Security Council has responded promptly to the recommendation made by the Secretary-General on the basis of the positive events taking place in Haiti. The adoption of that resolution, which suspends the sanctions regime, will demonstrate to the political protagonists in Haiti and to other States that have been or are now subject to Council sanctions that the Council is prepared to encourage those who are willing to implement the provisions of its resolutions.

Of course, the confirmation of Prime Minister Malval does not mean that the process set out in the Governors Island Agreement and the New York Pact has been fully implemented: other aspects of those agreements and of resolution 841 (1993) remain to be implemented. The Council must therefore remain attentive to developments in Haiti and must, respond with the same speed should it be necessary - and we hope this will not be the case - to restore the sanctions regime established in resolution 841 (1993).

Soon, the Council will also be considering the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General with a view to establishing a United Nations mission in Haiti to assist in the process of democratizing Haitian institutions and security forces. Also, the international community will have to redouble its efforts with respect to economic and social assistance and cooperation, so the people of Haiti can have a genuine opportunity to emerge from their economic distress. Here again, we want to stress the role that should be played by other United Nations organs, the General Assembly and other bodies within the United Nations system.

(Mr. Yáñez Barnuevo, Spain)

Spain expresses the fervent hope that the confirmation of Prime Minister Malval will be followed by other decisisve steps in the same direction so that, when the legitimate President of Haiti, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, once again occupies the presidential palace in Port-au-Prince, this Council will be able to decide on the definitive lifting of the sanctions imposed under resolution 841 (1993).

Mr. ARRIA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): Allow me, Madam President, to anticipate by five days the end of your term of office and congratulate you on your productive leadership and your innovative management, carried out with solidarity and respect, which have won for you the admiration and respect of all of us.

It is almost exactly two years now since the overthrow of the constitutional President of Haiti, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. From the first day the international community began lending invaluable support for the return of the democratic system, and the Council's resolutions and those of the General Assembly clearly reflect their will to do so. The cooperation between the Organization of American States (OAS) and the United Nations produced an effective and unprecedented synergy. The coordination between the regional organization and the global one was extraordinary. In this regard, the role played by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Dante Caputo, has been equally extraordinary.

The process that began with the 1991 elections, with the support of the United Nations, is being renewed after a tragic and deplorable interruption. The process has not reached its culmination and will not do so even with the return of President Aristide, expected to take place on 30 October this year. Starting from that precise moment, the international community will have the

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

opportunity to bring those efforts to culmination - to crown them - stimulating the democratic regime so that it can be technically and financially supported in order to give it indispensable living conditions so that it can really build a stable democratic system.

The American continent itself has, in this regard, a particular responsibility to show its solidarity through effective acts of cooperation in coming to the rescue of the quality of life of the mistreated Haitian people.

Allow me to take this opportunity to highlight the fact that the support of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean Sates played an indispensable role in the process that allowed the Security Council to act. By the same token, the invariably decisive and very active contribution of the Governments of the United States, France and Canada has been fundamental. My own country has taken part in those efforts with equal passion, stubbornness and tenacity since day one.

My country is especially pleased by the decisive contribution of the international community: that of creating the conditions now making it possible for President Aristide to return and take up again the presidential mandate to which he was elected with 70 per cent of his people's vote.

The ratification of Prime Minister Malval and his cabinet represents an extraordinary step for the return of democratic life in Haiti, and, indeed, it is this that has led to the suspension of embargo measures.

My delegation wishes, nevertheless, to note its concern over the serious violations and abuses relating to human rights that continue to take place in Haiti. The Haitian Armed Forces must understand clearly that the international community, represented by the Security Council, has no inclination to tolerate the continuation of such procedures.

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

Venezuela realizes that it can never repay the enormous debt it owes the Haitian people, who, led by President Petión, gave very generous assistance in the saga of Latin American independence - or a great part of it - which was set into motion by Simón Bolívar.

In conclusion, as you know, Madam President, this is the last occasion on which I shall have spoken as representative of Venezuela in this Council. Allow me to express publicly to each and every one of my colleagues and to their dedicated and highly qualified delegations my appreciation, admiration, respect and solidarity. I have felt fully and in every way the privilege of belonging to this body and being a representative of the international community. I have dedicated all my efforts to this activity in circumstances which I understand to be particularly difficult and perilous for humanity. I have tried to serve the world and fulfil the responsibility of the Security Council which represents, without any doubt, the greatest pride of my public life and a privilege for which I am immensely grateful.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Venezuela for his kind words addressed to me and for his commendation of his colleagues on the Council.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): The Security Council's adoption of resolution 861 (1993) constitutes an appropriate and most welcome response to recent and encouraging political developments in Haiti. Important steps were taken in that long-suffering country with a view to restoring democracy. The Governors Island Agreement is being honoured by the parties, and there is now increasing hope that the decisions taken by the international community concerning the situation in Haiti will bear fruit.

The Haitian Parliament's ratification of the name of Prime Minister Malval and his cabinet, together with the vote of confidence regarding its

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

policies and the Prime Minister's assumption of office, made possible the decision taken today by the Security Council regarding the provisional lifting of the embargo established by resolution 841 (1993). The ultimate objective of the efforts put together, both at the national and international levels, remains the reinstatement of the legitimate Government of President Jean-Bertrand Arisitide on the agreed date of 30 October. The results achieved so far bear testimony to the efficiency and proportionality of the measures carried out by the international community. They also reflect the usefulness of the cooperation established between the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS), which led to the adoption of resolution 841 (1993) and made universally mandatory some of the measures previously envisaged by the OAS. Marked by a careful combination of strength and political wisdom and resulting from a thorough and open negotiatiing process, those measures proved to be an appropriate answer to the unique Haitian situation.

The Brazilian delegation wishes to thank Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the Secretary-General of the Organization of American States, Mr. Joao Clemente Baena Soares, for their invaluable efforts in seeking a solution to this crisis. Likewise, we take this opportunity to acknowledge the crucial contribution of Mr. Dante Caputo, the Special Representative of the Secretary-Generals of both organizations, who was tireless in his efforts to bring the parties together. Such a fruitful partnership between the United Nations and the Organization of American States, which proved to be an important success story on the virtues of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, must be preserved and continue to be carried out until a definite solution to the crisis in Haiti is achieved.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

Now that a new phase has been reached in the efforts to redress the Haitian situation, it is important that the appropriate attention be devoted to the need for strict respect for human rights in that country on the basis of the undisputed prevalence of the rule of law. By the same token, the international community should not forsake its responsibilities in providing the Haitian people with the generous and much-needed cooperation it expects for economic and social recovery and humanitarian emergency assistance.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

Today we have reason to rejoice at the progress achieved in Haiti. It is important to point out, however, that as the political process unfolds the international community will continue to play close attention, particularly to the acts and attitudes of those who have been referred to as "de facto authorities".

The sanctions regime is for the time being suspended. We look forward to the moment when it will be possible to terminate it.

Brazil will continue to follow attentively the developments in Haiti. We stand ready, both here in the United Nations and in the Organization of American States, to contribute to the best of our ability to the prompt and effective resolution of the crisis in that friendly country. It is our hope that with the support of the international community the political struggle to restore democracy will be crowned with success. The people of Haiti deserve no less.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the United States.

Seventy-one days ago this Council acted. We imposed sanctions on Haiti. Our goal was clear: to help restore the democratic government that had been stolen from the people of Haiti.

We knew that sanctions alone could not solve Haiti's suffering. But we also knew that imposing sanctions would send a clear and unequivocal message to those who would extinguish the democratic flame and in so doing allow their own nation to collapse.

When sanctions were imposed the United States called on the Haitians to put their country's interest over their own, and to negotiate a settlement. The Governors Island Agreement, signed two weeks later, was a clear

(The President)

demonstration that sanctions had worked, that the international community's resolve had paid off.

Yesterday's ratification of President Aristide's chosen Prime Minister is a tremendous achievement. It is a triumph for multilateral diplomacy, at the Organization of American States and at the United Nations. We have put multilateral diplomacy at the service of democracy and human dignity. And, above all, this week has been a triumph for the Haitian people.

Today's suspension of sanctions is not only a success, but a first for the Security Council in recent years. In addition to Haiti, this Council has imposed sanctions on Iraq, on Serbia and on Libya. Now we have removed them from Haiti. We have shown that we will be serious in responding to serious progress. Let this be a message to those who continue to stonewall this Council.

In suspending sanctions immediately upon ratification of the new Haitian Government, we have also shown that this economic tool is both flexible and effective, and that this Council can act quickly and decisively.

I am pleased to announce that the United States is now taking steps to prepare for the suspension of sanctions. We are working with the Haitian Government to unfreeze frozen assets.

Today the people of Haiti and the community of nations will together take a crucial step forward towards the return of President Aristide on 30 October, the renewal of Haitian democracy and hopefully, the restoration of a failed State.

Our success today also provides a glimpse into the future, a glimpse of a greater vision my Government sees for the United Nations. That vision is not only to reform those States that have spurned the community of nations, not

(The President)

only to embrace the new democracies that so wish to become good citizens in this community, but also to restore the failed States so that they too can rejoin this community.

I now resume my position as President.

The representative of Haiti has asked to speak, and I now call on him.

Mr. LONGCHAMP (Haiti)(interpretation from French): Madam President, allow me first to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of August.

On behalf of my delegation, I would like to extend my most sincere thanks to the Council for the unanimous adoption of the resolution, which reflects the progress made in the search for a resolution to the Haitian crisis, which has lasted nearly two years.

Today we are all most pleased by the latest developments in Haiti, with the ratification by Parliament of the Prime Minister designated by President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Mr. Robert Malval. Mr. Malval will take up his functions at the beginning of next week, when he will begin to work for the return to Haiti on 30 October 1993 of the constitutionally elected President, the Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide. This is a major victory for the Organization of American States (OAS) and for the United Nations, and in particular for the Security Council, whose resolution 841 (1993), dated 16 June 1993, was decisive in the development of this matter.

My delegation is pleased by the efforts of the international community on behalf of the Haitian people in their long and courageous struggle to establish democracy in Haiti. In that respect, I would like to thank the Secretary-Generals of the OAS and of the United Nations, as well as their Special Envoy, Mr. Dante Caputo, for their tireless efforts to assist in

(Mr. Longchamp, Haiti)

restoring the legal State in Haiti. We are also grateful to friendly States, primarily the group of four "Friends of the Secretary-General", for their tireless support, which made it possible for us to reach this objective.

However, it is clear that a great deal remains to be done. The situation is still extremely precarious, with a renewed outbreak of human rights violations, as indicated by the last report of the International Civilian Mission. My delegation hopes that the Security Council will remain vigilant against any attempts to wreck the process of establishing democracy in Haiti.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Haiti for his kind words addressed to me.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

EXPRESSION OF FAREWELL TO HIS EXCELLENCY MR. DIEGO ARRIA, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF VENEZUELA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

The PRESIDENT: The Ambassador of Venezuela has told us that this is his last meeting. I would like, on behalf of all of us, to thank the Ambassador for the tremendous contribution he has made to the Security Council at this watershed time. We shall all miss his intellect and passion.

Au revoir.

The meeting rose at 4.25 p.m.